MEMORANDA

RESPECTING

The French Slave Trade

IN

1820.

DRAWN UP AT THE CLOSE OF THAT YEAR.

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ERRATA.

Page 16, line 12 from bottom, for *these* read *those.*

Page 24, line 19, and page 25, lines 4 and 9 from bottom, for *M. Deville*, read *M. Delile.*

Page 24, line 23, and page 25, line 17 from bottom, for *M. Rance*, read *M. Rancée.*

MEMORANDA

RESPECTING

THE FRENCH SLAVE TRADE IN 1820.

On the 14th of June, 1820, M. Morenas, who designates himself 'Ex-Membre de la Commission d'Exploration attachée á la Colonie du Senegal,' presented to the Chamber of Deputies a Petition against the Slave Trade carried on by French subjects. The petitioner states, that after having complained in vain to the proper authorities—meaning the Minister of the Marine—he now came to implore the assistance of the Chamber in behalf of a numerous class of sufferers, too long the victims of a detestable cupidity; and to invoke, in the name of Humanity, the execution of the laws abolishing the Slave Trade, which, to that hour, continued to be violated, in contempt of the sacred engagements of his Majesty, and in spite of the promises of his Ministers. In June 1819, the Minister of the Marine had made the following statement to the Chamber:—'As 'to the Slave Trade, I can affirm that his Majesty's 'Government has done every thing in its power to extin- 'guish it universally. We have prosecuted the persons who 'carry on that hateful traffic. We have suppressed it at 'Senegal.' 'Nevertheless,' observes the petitioner, 'on my 'arrival in that country in July 1818, I found all the per- 'sons who carried on this guilty commerce enjoying the 'most perfect impunity. Their practices, far from being re- 'pressed, appeared to be sanctioned by a tacit protection, 'for I found the slave-holds (*les captiveries*) filled with 'Slaves loaded with irons.' 'The French Governor, Colonel 'Schmaltz, when he took possession of Goree and Senegal 'in January, 1817, proclaimed indeed the royal ordon- 'nance which abolished the Slave Trade; but immediately 'after the proclamation had been made, that trade was re- 'newed with a degree of activity hitherto unprecedented, 'accompanied by circumstances of the most revolting 'atrocity. On the very festival of St. Louis, in 1817 (Au- 'gust 25th), a schooner took on board, at the wharf of M.

'Potin, one hundred and fifty Slaves, who have been sold in 'the French West Indies.'—M. Morenas adds some farther details, to shew the miseries consequent on this revival of the trade;—such as, that a slave merchant of St. Louis had caused a village, called Diaman, to be attacked in the night; and the village having been set on fire, sixty-five of the inhabitants were killed in defending themselves, and forty-seven taken prisoners;—that a native king (Damel) had attacked and destroyed his own villages in order to procure Slaves for the French merchants, to whom he had sold about three thousand;—that whole families had been dragged to Senegal, and husbands, wives, and children, torn from each other's embraces, were not even allowed the melancholy consolation of being bound by the same chain; with various other facts of the same description.

In February 1818, M. Fleuriau, a captain in the French navy, took the command of the colony during the absence of Colonel Schmaltz. This Captain Fleuriau, the petitioner states, 'took no measures whatever for checking the 'progress of the Slave Trade; which was carried on with 'great ardour, and without the smallest disguise. He re-'plied to a person, who made some remark to him on the 'subject, "You are busying yourself with a matter with 'which you have no concern, and I will receive no complaint 'of the kind."' The seizure of the Postillion at Senegal, in May 1818*, which the petitioner states to have been the first attempt that had been made to check this traffic, caused a suspension of the shipment of Slaves for the West Indies, but did not interrupt the labours of the Slave-merchants, who continued to purchase the miserable Africans brought from the interior, and to fill their slave-holds with them, trusting to an opportunity of exporting them when Colonel Schmaltz should return. After the return of that officer, the exportation of Slaves to the West Indies was renewed; and the petitioner specifies a number of instances of it, which came under his own immediate observation, between the month of February 1819, and the month of October in the same year, when he quitted the colony to revisit France.

* This 'first act of vigour,' as M. Morenas terms it, appears to have been the consequence of some strong representations which had been made by our Government to that of France, early in 1818. A new law was passed in April of that year, and new orders, it is understood, were issued on that occasion, which, unfortunately for the Postillion, arrived at Senegal while she was openly taking her Slaves on board in the river; as many other vessels had previously done without having incurred the slightest indication of displeasure on the part, either of M. Schmaltz, or of his locum tenens M. Fleuriau.

One vessel, the Eliza, belonging to M. Jaffro of Senegal, he states to have been sent from that place to Guadaloupe, loaded with Slaves, a part of whom were the property of public functionaries. He even gives the names of these functionaries, with the number of Slaves which each had put on board, as follows:

M. Mille, a Clerk of the Marine ..... 12 Slaves.
M. Treves, the same 10
M. Colbrand, the same 12
M. Lemeur, Storekeeper..... 6
M. Calvet, Surgeon..... 10
M. Maritau, Apothecary 6

He likewise exhibits an account of sales of part of this cargo, which was sold at Point-a-Pitre by the agents Messrs. Lamey and Damblat, to a M. Piol of Guadaloupe. All these details the petitioner had communicated on his return to France, in December 1819, to the Minister of the Marine, who acknowledged the receipt of his communication.

The petitioner then proceeds to make some remarks on the existing laws relative to the Slave Trade; and he shews them to be altogether inadequate to their object. The confiscation of the vessel, he observes, is easily compensated for by means of insurances, which are effected at a premium of fifty per cent.; the half of which it is stipulated shall be returned in case of a successful voyage. These policies are conceived to be illegal, but they are the subjects of honorary engagement. The captain also, who loses his situation in case the vessel should be condemned, receives an indemnity from the owner of the ship. These punishments being all that the law prescribes, the petitioner conceives, are wholly inefficient to the purpose of prevention: the trade can only be effectually repressed by inflicting upon the captain, owner, factor, consignee, and all who take a part in slave-trading transactions, a disgraceful punishment, (*une peine infamante*, such as the galleys, hard labour, &c.) varying in its severity according to the degree of guilt. The petitioner also suggests the necessity of adopting a law for determining the lot of the African Slaves who may be seized and confiscated. At present they remain *as Slaves* in the hands of the Government, and are subject to great abuses. The petition closes with the following address to the Chamber of Deputies.

'Gentlemen, in the name of the unhappy Africans, and 'in the name of every individual of feeling and humanity, 'I implore your powerful interference—for that alone can 'prove effectual—to extinguish this hateful traffic, which

'leads men, for the sake of sordid gain, mercilessly to sport 'with the life and liberty of their brethren; and which con- 'tinues to be carried on so undisguisedly under the cover 'of that French flag which has so often given protection 'to the oppressed. I affirm, that it is impossible this in- 'human trade could exist in the river Senegal, if the autho- 'rities there really meant to prevent it. But how can we 'hope ever to see the wishes of the King, and the promises 'of his Ministers fulfilled, if their accomplishment should 'still be confided to a Governor, who, during three years, in 'spite of the orders he has received, has permitted the trade 'to be freely carried on; who is himself accused of taking 'too direct a part in this illicit commerce; and who did 'not shrink from causing it to be announced by the public 'cryer, that all Slaves brought into the colony should be con- 'veyed to the house of Messrs. Potin and Durécu? This 'order, which gave to their house the monopoly of the 'brokerage of Slaves, excited the complaints of the other 'Slave-merchants, who, from that time, were under the ne- 'cessity of submitting to the terms which that privileged 'house might impose upon them.'

The truth of the facts contained in the Petition of M. Morenas was certified by M. Giudicelly, a respectable ecclesiastic, who had resided at Senegal from January 1817, to a late period, and who declared himself to have been an eye-witness of many of those facts, and to have had ample means of ascertaining the truth of the remainder. M. Giudicelly filled the situation of Préfet Apostolique at Senegal.

The Petition was referred by the Chamber to a Committee, of which M. Courvoisier was the president. On the 29th of June 1820, he read to the Chamber a Report upon it, the object of which seemed to be, to defend the Minister of the Marine, and the Governors of Senegal, M. Schmaltz and M. Fleuriau, from the implications of M. Morenas and M. Giudicelly. The Minister of the Marine, it was asserted by the reporter, had done all in his power to enforce the execution of the Abolition Laws. He had even sent to Senegal, towards the close of the year 1819, M. Mackau, a distinguished officer, who quitted Africa to return to France only in January 1820. During the three months he remained in that country, he had taken pains to ascertain its state; and he declares positively, that 'he found no 'where any trace of those kidnappings, or of those devas- 'tations and horrors described in the Petition.' In short, he represents 'the charges produced under so many forms, 'and repeated in so many writings—that in 1817 and 1818,

'the Slave Trade was not only connived at but encouraged 'at Senegal, and that the chief authorities drew from it a 'detestable gain—as vile calumnies invented by passion, 'and sanctioned by a troublesome indiscretion.' It had been proved indeed to the satisfaction of M. Mackau, that from February 1817 to July 1818, and particularly at Goree, the inhabitants in general had eagerly given themselves up to this commerce;—that some subaltern functionaries had merited the charges preferred against them; but that the chief authorities had not only had no participation in the gains of this trade, but were constantly opposed to those who addicted themselves to it;—that M. Fleuriau had not ceased to conflict with the greatest firmness against the population of Senegal and Goree, who were all eager after the gains of this traffic, and in this struggle had displayed as much energy as talents;—that after the publication of the law of April 1818, the attempts to carry on this illicit trade ceased at Senegal, but were continued covertly at Goree, and above all in the river Cazamanza, and among the Bissago Islands, two places beyond the limits of French jurisdiction;—that the government meanwhile persevered in its vigilance, and in the utmost efforts to stop the trade; and that if some shipments were made, it was without its knowledge: in short, that it did all in its power; M. Fleuriau, in 1819, and afterwards Colonel Schmaltz, on his return, having pursued the same line of vigilance and severity. M. Mackau then specifies two instances of their interference in the course of that year. One was, that of the owner of a vessel called the Zephyr, who being suspected of a design to take Slaves at the Cape de Verd Islands, was called on to give bond not to be guilty of any infraction of the Abolition Laws; but who, rather than do this, had abandoned his intended voyage. The other was the case of the Scholastique, which carried off a number of Slaves to the West Indies in September 1819. Having been denounced after her departure, she was ordered to be confiscated; and, having had the audacity to return to Senegal, was definitively condemned.

Such, observes M. Courvoisier, is the Report of M. Mackau. 'When that officer,' he adds, 'quitted Senegal, 'they had there renounced the trade; but some men seemed 'to be waiting only for a less severe police, in order to renew 'this infamous traffic.'

After the Minister of the Marine had received the statements of M. Mackau, which M. Courvoisier considers as disproving those of the petitioner, the draught of a new law was discussed in the general council of commerce, and was at

that moment under the consideration of the council of ministers. 'The wishes, therefore, of the petitioner on this 'subject,' M. Courvoisier remarks, 'have been anticipated.'

The rest of the Report of this gentleman is occupied chiefly by a minute statement of all that the Minister of the Marine has done to suppress this trade;—by an elaborate attempt to convict M. Morenas of inaccuracy in his details;—and by broad insinuations that he will be found to be a calumniator of the authorities at Senegal; and that he is also a bad subject, because his statements agree in many points with those which have appeared in English newspapers, and because he refers, in several cases, as authorities, to the Reports of the African Institution, and to the Sierra Leone Gazette. M. Giudicelly also, who certified the truth of the Petition of M. Morenas, is accused of exaggeration and imposture; and it is affirmed of him, that though he declared that he had quitted Africa because he failed in all his efforts to procure the execution of the laws for abolishing the Slave Trade, yet he had applied to the Minister of the Marine to be sent back to Senegal, either as the priest of the place, or as its historiographer. The Report closes with these words:—'The denunciations of the Petition are most 'serious. If the Slave Trade has been connived at and 'protected, the persons guilty of this detestable collusion, 'ought to undergo an exemplary punishment: the law in-'tends this; and the honour of the Government, and of the 'Nation, no less than the claims of Justice and Humanity, 'exact it of us. But if M. Morenas has slandered his 'countrymen, and the public functionaries charged with 'the execution of the laws, then he ought to be signally 'punished himself. The Committee propose to refer the 'Petition to the Minister of the Marine and the Keeper of 'the Seals.'

In the course of the discussion it appeared, that the Report was founded wholly on documents communicated to the Committee by the Minister of the Marine; which documents consisted chiefly, in addition to the Report of M. Mackau, of papers furnished by M. Schmaltz and M. Fleuriau. But neither M. Morenas nor M. Giudicelly were called upon for explanations, nor for any farther information, although they declared that they had only stated a part of the facts within their knowledge; nor were they allowed any opportunity of adducing proof in support of their allegations, although they professed their readiness to do so.

The Minister of the Marine—to whom, as to an impartial judge, M. Courvoisier states, in his Report, that it had been referred to examine the charges preferred against

M. Schmaltz—seems to have brought his perfect impartiality into some suspicion, by a speech which he pronounced from the tribune at the conclusion of the reading of the Report. He took occasion to remark, that 'his Majesty's 'Government repelled every imputation brought against M. 'Schmaltz or M. Fleuriau. The King, it was true, had 'thought proper to recal M. Schmaltz; but certainly, had 'the Petition of M. Morenas been then presented, M. 'Schmaltz would not have been recalled, because Ministers 'would not have been willing to have allowed the impression 'to have been produced, that his recal was owing to the 'charges preferred against him.' He concluded with signifying that a new law was preparing on the subject of the Slave Trade, which would be submitted to the Chamber in the ensuing session.

The Report of M. Courvoisier, has called forth a Letter to that gentleman from M. Giudicelly, which has since been published, and which places both M. Courvoisier, and M. Portal, the Minister of the Marine, on their defence.

M. Giudicelly begins with intimating, that, after what had passed in the Chamber of Deputies respecting the Slave Trade, he had supposed that the whole subject would have undergone an examination, and been fully exposed to the public view in a Court of Justice. The reference of the Petition to the Keeper of the Seals, and the threat of punishing M. Morenas, the petitioner, as a calumniator, had naturally led him to expect this. 'I waited,' he proceeds, 'for that opportunity of turning upon you, 'M. Courvoisier, the effect of the calumnies with which 'you meant to overwhelm me, and of repeating openly 'before you, that the execrable trade in human flesh was 'carried on at Senegal and Goree, under the administration 'of Messieurs Schmaltz and Fleuriau, with the same publicity 'with which you denied the fact from the national tribune. 'Disappointed in my expectation, I am forced to recur to the 'only means which are left me—that of publishing my defence.

'Abusing the inviolability which the Charter gives you, 'you have poured reproach on men who have had the 'courage to denounce great crimes, and you have accused 'me of *exaggeration and imposture* for having certified that 'the Petition of M. Morenas is true. I will not reproach '*you* with the unseemliness of such extraordinary language 'in the mouth of a Deputy, who, instead of making an 'impartial report, delivers a decision full of harshness. 'The public will know how to estimate at their just value 'the private individual who denounces great crimes of

'which he has been an eye-witness, and the deputy who, 'in order to repel the charge, takes it upon him fearlessly 'to decide on matters of which he knows nothing. Had 'the Report of M. Morenas been referred to the traffickers 'in human flesh at Senegal, they would have shewn more 'fairness and reserve. For none of them have ever made 'a mystery of this infamous commerce, the existence of 'which you have not shrunk from denying in the face of 'outraged Europe. Is it necessary that I should cite to 'you the names of some of those tigers in human shape, 'who enjoy in tranquillity, and perhaps with *honour*, the 'fruits of their sanguinary toil?'—'It has been your 'purpose to deliver over to trial, and to brand with 'disgrace, men who have had the courage to denounce 'to the Nation the horrors of the Slave Trade. For my 'part, notwithstanding your wrath and your invectives, 'I count it an honour to have defended the cause of the 'unhappy Negroes: and every minister of religion, who 'knows how to appreciate the spirit of the Gospel, will do 'the same.'

In the abstract given above of M. Courvoisier's Report, it will be seen that, with a view to discredit the testimony of M. Giudicelly, he affirmed, that while that gentleman had stated himself to have been induced to quit Senegal by the horror he felt at the atrocities committed there, he had nevertheless solicited the Minister of the Marine to be sent back thither, if not as *Curé*, yet as *Historiographer*. To the charge of bad faith implied in this part of the Report, M. Giudicelly thus replies:—'This statement, Sir, serves 'to detect in you, either the most signal dishonesty, or the 'most remarkable credulity. Had you even read the docu- 'ments to which you allude, in place of giving us a misplaced 'declamation on the subject, you would at least have been 'in a situation to fulfil in a becoming manner your duty as 'a member of the representative body. The fact in this 'case is, that on my return from Africa, in 1819, wishing 'to make the Minister of the Marine acquainted with the 'truth, I told him that the assertions of M. Schmaltz, 'respecting the fertility of the arid and burning sands of 'Senegal were most absurd, and the prospects he held out 'altogether illusory; and that his plans and proceedings, 'which, according to him, were to raise the colony to a 'height of prosperity, tended only to its ruin. In short, 'I gave him to understand that this political juggler could 'produce no good by his projects, and that his vapouring 'would lead to no result but that of dissipating the public

'money without any advantage to the state. To support 'these representations, I mentioned the ridiculous attempt 'made in 1818, at a great expense, by M. Fleuriau (com- 'manding in the absence of M. Schmaltz) to grow cotton 'on the sands of the island of St. Louis; and I predicted 'that the whole benefit arising from it would be, that the 'public would be saddled with the cost of the undertaking, 'and that the provisional governor would have the vain- 'glory of being able to make to his friends the modest state- 'ment that he had laid the foundation of African civilization. 'In my remonstrance to the Minister of the Marine, of the '5th June 1819, at the precise period when accounts had 'been received of the complete failure of the Plantation 'Fleuriau, after protesting against the injustice of that 'Minister's decisions with respect to myself, I ended with 'the following words:—" I have the honour further to ob- 'serve to your excellency, that the circumstances which I 'alleged at the time being really those which forced me to 'quit the colony, it seems reasonable that, after justice shall 'have been done me at Paris, I should resume my situation 'at Senegal, in order there to complete my work. Having 'witnessed the *fair beginnings* of those new plantations on 'the barren sands of that district, it would be for the 'interest of Government to send me back, if not as a 'priest, at least as historiographer, for I should then be 'the eye-witness also of the *admirable results* of the un- 'dertaking."

'Now, Sir, I ask, is this the style which men employ 'when they petition or sue for favours at the hands of a 'minister? And what a favour! to be permitted to endure 'sixty degrees of heat in the midst of a shifting sand, where 'no rain falls for eight months in the year, and destitute 'of every thing necessary to comfort, in order to be the 'witness and the victim of the calamitous administration of 'a Schmaltz, more noxious far to that barren land than 'even the sweeping scourge of the locusts which leave 'nothing behind them but famine and death!'

'But, Sir, the main point between us respects the infa- 'mous traffic in human blood carried on, under my own 'eyes, in the years 1817 and 1818; and to me it appears 'the very height of *extravagance* that you should wish to 'deny the facts of which I was myself the eye-witness. 'Can you believe that your evasions will outweigh my 'testimony, and the voice of Europe, in a case where justice 'and a sense of duty should have bound you to search out 'the truth? To shew how correct are your declamations, I

'should only have to lay before you the actual state of that 'unhappy colony, and to count the men and the millions 'wasted upon it, with no other result than that of having 'enriched a small number of swindlers.'

'M. Morenas has stated a variety of positive and cir- 'cumstantial facts, to shew that the Slave Trade has been 'carried on with impunity; and he has even designated the 'vessels and the individuals who have been engaged in it. 'But you have sought to divert the attention of the Chamber 'from these statements by dwelling on some inconsistencies 'of which you allege I have been guilty, and by charging 'me with troubling the peace of the colony.' 'What, then, 'are those facts and documents which establish the false- 'hood of my assertions? Are they not the statements of 'Messieurs Schmaltz, Fleuriau, and Mackau? I challenge 'you to produce any other, or even to expose these to the 'light. At Senegal, the Governor is not only the Military 'Commander, but also the Judge and the Civil Adminis- 'trator; and if any one accuses him, it is to him alone you 'listen. You will grant to me, that this mode of dispensing 'justice is not the better for being old.'

'I am accused of *troubling the peace of the colony.* 'Take one instance in proof of it. Soon after my arrival, in 'December, 1816, I became convinced of the atrocities which 'were practised there. I may one day publish them to the 'world in detail: at present, however, let it be enough for you 'to know, that *I myself have seen*—mark me well, M. Cour- 'voisier—*I myself have seen* the unhappy Negroes embarked 'by hundreds, both at Goree and at St. Louis, on board 'of vessels bound to the West Indies. I communicated to 'the Minister my just indignation at these transactions; and 'I informed him, that I could no longer remain in a land 'polluted with the blood of my fellow-creatures. At the 'same time I was most earnest in impressing it upon my 'flock, whether White or Black, that those who should con- 'tinue to carry on this traffic would for ever be shut out 'from the presence of God. The Natives admitted with 'tears in their eyes that I was right; and some of them 'honestly renounced the trade. But M. Schmaltz, his 'suite, and other privileged Whites, far from relenting, load- 'ed me with execrations, and with abuse not very dissimilar 'to that which you, Sir, chose to pour upon me in your 'Report to the Chamber of Deputies. I did not suffer 'myself to be dismayed by these things; and I continued 'to describe hell as open, and ready to ingulph all the 'dealers in human flesh. On this, Colonel Schmaltz se-

'lected the moment when I was in attendance on a sick 'person who was at the point of death, to come and tell 'me in the presence of several individuals, that if I thus 'exhibited him he would have me dragged to prison. This 'unexpected menace filled me with surprise and apprehen-'sion.'

M. Giudicelly enters into some farther details, with a view to his vindication from the charge of M. Courvoisier that he *had troubled the peace of the colony*. His defence appears to justify the conclusion to which he comes, that if he did disturb the public tranquillity, 'it was in the same 'way in which the asserters of justice always disturb the 'repose of evil-doers.' He then proceeds to state a variety of facts inculpatory of the conduct of Messieurs Schmaltz and Fleuriau, which, however discreditable to their administration, and however important in themselves, are not particularly connected with the present discussion.

'But to return,' says M. Giudicelly, 'to the Slave Trade, 'which alone ought to have formed the subject of your 'Report—it is the very height of extravagance and absurdity 'to attempt to maintain at Paris, in the national tribune, 'that the Slave Trade is not carried on at Senegal, while the 'French journals, indeed all the newspapers of every 'country, proclaim the contrary. The English are from 'time to time seizing French Slave-ships on the coast of 'Africa, and selling them publicly. A few days after you 'had pronounced your invective against me, the news-'papers (see le Constitutionel of the 14th July, 1820) made 'known to you a fresh capture of a French Slave-ship—'namely, the schooner la Marie—taken on the 20th January, '1820, with one hundred and six Slaves on board.

'The Petition of M. Morenas, which has so much excited 'your displeasure, is so little liable to the charge of being 'unfounded that I am ready to add to it a variety of other 'facts to convince the incredulous, should there still be 'any such, of its truth.'—'He has stated, for example, that 'a cargo of Slaves was dispatched on St. Louis's day from 'M. Potin's wharf. I can add to this statement, that two 'unhappy Negroes who had waited at table, during the 'dinner which the Governor gave on the occasion of that 'very festival, were carried off from the kitchen and em-'barked on board that vessel, several persons being cog-'nizant of the transaction.

'I will give you also, Sir, some details respecting the 'massacre which M. Morenas states to have taken place 'in the village Diaman. Going into the house of a Na-

'tive, a neighbour of mine, where they had purchased a 'female of twenty years of age, captured on that occasion, 'I learnt from her that not being able to escape, on account 'of a wound in her foot, the Moors had made her a Slave, 'and, at the time they siezed her, stabbed in her arms an 'infant five months old; that her father had been killed in 'defending the village; but that her husband, who had 'been out a hunting, her eldest daughter, and her mother, 'had been saved. This Negress was much affected by my 'inquiries; and it was with difficulty I prevailed upon her 'to accept some trifling aid. It was necessary often to 'repeat—perhaps, after all, without convincing her—that all 'the Whites were not alike, and that most of them abhorred 'such atrocities. "Why then," she eagerly exclaimed, 'bursting at the same time into a flood of tears—"Why, 'then, do they not prevent them?"

'The destruction of this village was the signal for such 'horrid excesses as I could scarcely have suspected can-'nibals to have been capable of committing. Upon the 'Senegal, in the streets of St. Louis, in the surrounding 'country, every Negro who was a stranger and unprotected, 'was seized, sold, and shipped off. How often have I 'heard the outcries of these unfortunate beings, who dur-'ing the night were struggling with their kidnappers!

'How was M. Schmaltz, who affects to say that the Slave 'Trade was not carried on, employed at this time? He 'went every day to pass several hours of the forenoon in 'the Slave-hold of M. Potin, his confidential friend, his 'counsellor, favoured by him with peculiar privileges*.

'M. Schmaltz could not have been ignorant of this Slave 'Trade, since the greater part of the servants of Government 'were opeuly engaged in it, and, as was supposed, with his 'sanction. He must have seen in the market-place, as I 'frequently saw at this time, men exposed to sale like brutes. 'Was he alone ignorant of the existence of the slave-holds, 'which were seen by every body else at St. Louis? M. 'Colbrant, a clerk of the marine, had formed one in the 'beginning of 1817, even before the English had surren-'dered the colony. I saw it frequently, and M. Colbrant 'never affected to make a secret of his illicit commerce.'

'In vain I laboured, on different occasions, to make him 'feel, that, even if reduced to live upon the grass of the 'field, it could not be lawful to hunt men in order to sell 'them. But having been unable to convince the King's

* See above, p. 1.

'Governors of this truth, how could it be expected to find 'admission into the conscience of one of their Clerks?

'Another Slave-trader, holding an office under the Go- 'vernment, said one day, in the presence of Messieurs H. 'and M., "I should be glad that they would call me to 'account for having carried on the Slave Trade. I do not 'conceal the share I have had in it; and I think, that when 'my superiors have given me the example, I have an 'undoubted right to carry it on."

'In the beginning of the year 1818, King Damel encamp- 'ed with about three thousand cavalry and infantry, and a 'thousand Moors, at the village of Gandiole, three leagues 'from St. Louis. I went to see this barbarian, who, during 'six months of that year, was occupied in carrying fire and 'sword into the different parts of his kingdom. To whom 'was it that he sold the thousands of his subjects whom he 'made Slaves? They were all transported to the West 'Indies from Senegal or Goree.

'In short, in 1817 and 1818, nearly all the inhabitants 'of Senegal, whether public functionaries or not, were 'engaged in the Slave Trade; and I was the daily spectator 'of wretched Negroes, scarcely able to drag themselves 'along under the weight of their irons, moving about or 'rather staggering in the streets, in order to breathe, for a 'few minutes, a less pestiferous atmosphere than that of 'their Slave-holds. At that period I wrote to M. Fleuriau, 'to inquire whether it was to be a witness of such atrocities 'committed against innocent men that I had been sent to 'Senegal*. The following is the reply of M. Fleuriau:— '"As I suppose that what you say points to the Slave Trade, 'I call upon you, Sir, to inform me of what you know on 'that subject, and, *above all, to furnish me with the proof 'of it.*"—What prudence on the part of M. Fleuriau! You, 'M. Courvoisier would also require, that before the word 'Slave Trade is uttered in the face of the nation, legal 'proof of its existence should be furnished you. Be tran- 'quil: it will be furnished you, perhaps beyond your 'wishes. My reply to M. Fleuriau was, that he had only 'to employ the means which he had in his hands, in order

* 'Almost every day some of these wretched Slaves fell victims 'of grief, of hunger, or of the effect of blows; others laid violent 'hands on themselves, rather than be transported to the West Indies. 'It happened on one occasion, that a Slave who died in a corner of 'the Slave-hold was discovered only by the offensive smell which 'proceeded from his putrescent corpse. M. Fleuriau must recollect 'this circumstance.'

'to obtain information of what was passing every day in 'his little government of St. Louis, and to oblige his sub-'alterns to do their duty. At this time there were in that 'little island more than two thonsand Slaves destined for 'embarkation to America; and they were, in fact, embarked, 'after the return of M. Schmaltz.

'It is unnecessary, Sir, to insert here the certificate by 'which I supported the Petition of M. Morenas. I will, 'however, repeat, that I was an eye-witness of the Slave 'Trade during the two years I was at Senegal or Goree; 'that the facts contained in that Petition are true; that I 'made known a part of them to the Minister of the Marine 'as long ago as the 5th January 1819; and that I did not 'quit the colony until I had vainly employed my efforts to 'obtain the honest execution of the laws abolishing the 'Slave Trade. This, Sir, is the truth, which I have certi-'fied in writing to the Committee of Petitions, and which 'I am ready to maintain orally before the courts of justice. 'Such is the duty of every honest man, and especially of 'a priest, according to that *extravagant* code of morality, 'which parents in my province are in the habit of teaching 'their children. If, however, Sir, a man is to be incul-'pated for having denounced the evils which he saw, but 'was unable to prevent; if, in the capital of the civilized 'world, it is a crime to declare the truth; let them put me 'on my trial, and let them condemn me, if they are bold 'enough to do so. I shall bear my cross with resignation, 'remembering that I should not be the first innocent person 'who has sunk under the weight of an unjust judgment. 'My condemnation would only prove, that in this world, 'in spite of our lights and our philosophy, one cannot 'always do good with impunity.'—After some very severe remarks on the general tenor of M. Courvoisier's political conduct, as well as on his conduct in this particular in-stance, M. Giudicelly subscribes himself, with all due consideration, 'Un Français qui n'est le valet de personne.'

It will be seen by the abstract given above of M. Cour-voisier's Report, that great stress is laid on the testimony of M. Mackau, as giving an authentic refutation to the state-ments of M. Morenas and M. Giudicelly. A careful exami-nation, however, of that gentleman's testimony, will serve rather to confirm than to weaken their representations. He states himself to have derived his information not only from the inhabitants of Senegal, but from native chiefs, the very description of persons most interested in deceiving him. He did not visit Senegal until after M. Morenas and M. Giu-

dicelly had both quitted it, and he did not remain on the coast more than three months; and yet he takes it upon him to negative their evidence, although they declare themselves to have been eye-witnesses of many of the transactions they relate. In January 1820, he declares that he found no traces of those kidnappings and other atrocities which these gentlemen described.—How was it possible he should have found them? The wretched beings who were the subjects of them did not remain to tell the tale of their sufferings: they indeed left no trace behind them: and, as for the place where villages might once have stood, the marks of the conflagration which had destroyed them would be effaced by the rains of a single season, and by the luxuriant crop of grass and jungle which those rains never fail to produce. He even affects to deny, that the Slave Trade, during the years 1817 and 1818, had been connived at by the colonial authorities. He admits, indeed, that from February 1817 to July 1818, the people of Senegal and Goree had given themselves up, had abandoned themselves, as it were, (*on s'est livré*) to this commerce; that at both places they were eager in pursuit of its gains; that it required the most energetic struggle and the most incessant vigilance to repress it; and that even some of the subaltern officers of Government were engaged in it. All this he admits; and yet he charges M. Morenas and M. Giudicelly with being calumniators; and yet he affirms, that the Governors did all in their power to prevent infractions of the law, and that, of the shipments of Slaves which were made, they were wholly ignorant. Now, Senegal and Goree are petty establishments, where every shipping transaction must necessarily be known to all who choose to know it, and where it would be quite impossible to conceal from a vigilant Governor the export of Slaves. How did it happen that the English Governors who preceded M. Schmaltz and M. Fleuriau; that Colonels Maxwell and MacCarthy, and Brereton and Chisholm, were able effectually to suppress this trade during their administration? It was because they were bent upon doing so: the trade was not connived at in their time. Besides, what instance can Messieurs Schmaltz and Fleuriau adduce of their having interfered to repress this crime, from February 1817 to May 1818; during which period, according to their own friend and advocate, M. Mackau, the whole population had plunged into the practice of it? What single regulation did they adopt to check it, although they are represented to have been continually struggling against it?—Slaves were brought into Senegal in great numbers, of whom M. Potin, a friend of

M. Schmaltz obtained the special privilege of being the Broker. Was a single inquiry instituted by these vigilant functionaries, respecting either the means by which these Slaves had been procured, or the manner in which they were subsequently disposed of? Was a single seizure made in consequence of such inquiry? or was a single process instituted? Not one.—Towards the end of May 1818, indeed, the unfortunate Postillion, to which reference has already been made, was seized. This vessel was proceeding, as many other vessels had done, to take her cargo of Slaves on board, in the very river of Senegal, and within view of the town, and had actually shipped a considerable number openly, and without disguise, when the new law of April 1818, accompanied, it may be presumed, with new orders, arrived. The Postillion was the victim of this unfortunate coincidence. But the only effect of this seizure, even according to M. Mackau, was to render the Slave-traders more reserved. The trade was still, he admits, carried on *secretly*, and the obvious expedient was resorted to, of moving the Slaves beyond the limits of the colony, and making the shipments thence.—And had the Governors no power to prevent this? Had they no power to require of the masters of Slaves an account of the persons who had been in their possession? Was human life and human liberty of so little value in the eyes of Messieurs Schmaltz and Fleuriau, that hundreds of their fellow-creatures should suddenly disappear from the narrow circle of their command, the whole of which they might explore in half an hour, without exciting any remark, and without their promulgating a single preventive regulation?

The attempt, under these circumstances, to vindicate the conduct of M. Schmaltz and M. Fleuriau, is too absurd to impose on any one who has the slightest knowledge of Senegal and Goree; and the panegyric pronounced upon them, therefore, by M. Mackau, M. Courvoisier, and the Minister of the Marine, while it cannot rescue these gentlemen from the charge of at least gross supineness and neglect, tends to produce no small distrust in the statements, if not also in the motives, of their panegyrists.

The Minister of the Marine indeed affirmed, in June 1819, that the persons carrying on this trade had been prosecuted. Let him shew a single instance in which, at that period, any prosecution had taken place, with the solitary exception of the ill-starred and much vaunted Postillion. If there be such an instance, let time and place and person be mentioned: let the record be produced; in order that this statement may be verified. Let him shew also, if he can,

what M. Schmaltz did to repress the Slave Trade, during the period in which he himself allows, that at Senegal and Goree, *on s'est livré a ce commerce.* Let him then exhibit this Governor's proclamations, his decrees, his prosecutions, his seizures, his complaints to the Minister of the Marine, his applications for cruizers and for additional powers, if those confided to him proved insufficient! No evidence has been produced that M. Schmaltz, during the first period of his residence at Senegal, took a single measure to stop a trade which he is declared to have vigorously striven against. And though this does not of itself shew, that since his return to Senegal, he has connived at and encouraged the trade, it does shew that, having acted on the former occasion with so little cordiality, his representations are not now to be implicitly received.

At a later period, it is true, a second case of prosecution occurred. In August, 1819, a vessel called the Scholastique sailed with Slaves on board, from Senegal to the West Indies. After her departure the transaction was denounced by a M. Bertholet; and the King's Attorney-General being instructed to investigate the case, judgment was pronounced against the vessel and cargo; and the captain having the boldness to return to Senegal, they were there finally condemned. The owners of this vessel have however appealed from the sentence, as illegal; and the reasons on which they ground their appeal will serve to throw light on the general subject. The French law, the appellants affirm *, prohibits

* See a paper drawn up by them, entitled, 'Requète presenteé 'a Messieurs les Membres composant la Commission crcé par l'Or- 'donnance Royale, du 22d Decembre, 1819, pour les Affaires 'Litigieuses concernant la Traite des Noirs, par M. Allain, Armateur, 'tant en son Nom, que comme fondè des Pouvoirs des Proprietaires 'et Armateurs du Navire appelé la Bombarde la Scholastique.'

We question whether M. Allain be quite correct in his statement of the law of the case, however true may be the facts which he alleges. It may be useful here to give a brief view of the real nature of French Legislation on this point.

On the 30th of July, 1815, Prince Talleyrand informed Lord Castlereagh, that his most Christian Majesty had issued directions, that on the part of France the traffic in Slaves should cease, from the present time, every where and for ever.

On the 30th of November, 1815, an additional article to the Definitive Treaty of Peace was formally executed, to the following effect.

'The high contracting parties, sincerely desiring to give effect 'to the measures, on which they deliberated at the Congress of 'Vienna, for the complete and universal abolition of the Slave 'Trade; and having each, in their respective dominions, prohi- 'bited without restriction their colonies and subjects from taking

only the carrying of Slaves to the French Colonies, and does not forbid their removal from the colony of Senegal. And in proof of this they state, as a notorious fact, that '*every*

'any part whatever in this traffic, engage to renew conjointly their 'efforts, with a view to ensure final success to the principles which 'they proclaimed in the Declaration of the 8th of February, 1815; 'and to concert without loss of time, by their Ministers at the Court 'of London, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a traffic so odious, and so highly reprobated by 'the laws of Religion and Nature.'

But notwithstanding this solemn treaty, and the previous declaration of Prince Talleyrand, that his most Christian Majesty *had* given directions, that on the part of France this traffic should cease every where and for ever; when in January, 1817, the British Minister at the French Court requested a communication to his Government of all laws, instructions, or ordinances, which had been promulgated on this subject, he received in return an ordonnance issued by the King, only on the 8th of the same month, as if framed to meet his demand; before which no step whatever appears to have been taken by the Government of France to give effect to the treaty.

Now, besides that this tardy ordonnance had in no respect the force of law, it was in itself perfectly inefficient to the object of abolishing the Slave Trade. It was as follows, viz.

'Article I. Every vessel, whether French or foreign, which 'shall attempt to introduce into any of our colonies purchased 'Blacks, shall be confiscated; and the captain, if a Frenchman, shall 'be held incapable of holding a command. The whole cargo shall, 'in like manner, be confiscated, although not consisting of Slaves. 'With respect to the Negroes, they shall be employed on public 'works of utility in the colony.

'Article II. The contraventions forbidden in the preceding 'article, shall be tried according to the same forms as contraventions of the laws and regulations for foreign commerce. As for 'the produce of the confiscations pronounced in conformity to the 'said article, it shall be realised, and applied in the same manner 'as the produce of confiscations prononnced in matters of the contravention of the laws concerning foreign commerce.'

This is evidently the law to which M. Allain refers in his petition.

This ordonnance proving notoriously ineffective, and the complaints of the British Government continuing, in April, 1818, a law was at length passed by the French Legislature on the subject, to the following effect.

'Article I. Any participation which may be taken by subjects 'or ships of France, in whatever place, under any circumstances, or 'on any pretext whatever; or by individuals, or ships, of foreign 'nations, within the dominions of France; in the traffic known by 'the name of the Slave Trade, shall be punished by the confiscation of ship and cargo, and by the incapacity of the captain to 'hold a command.

'Article II. These matters shall be decided by the tribunals 'that take cognizance of contraventions of the revenue laws.'

A royal ordonnance of the 24th of June, 1818, to give effect to this law, ordered a cruise (*une croisière*) to be formed on the coast of Africa. But this measure, highly proper in itself, has proved almost

'*day Slaves are sold at the colony of Senegal, in order* '*to be transported to Babaguey or Gandiole, villages si-* '*tuated on the coast, at no great distance from Senegal;* '*and that this is a trade authorised and permitted by the* '*laws of the country, and which is carried on constantly.*' The mere circumstanee of the exportation of Slaves, therefore, they maintain, even if it were proved, would not constitute an infraction of the law, unless it were also proved that the Slaves were earried to the French Colonies in the West Indies. They further argue, that in order to justify a condemnation, the vessel must be seized with the Slaves on board, *flagrante delicto;* and this they state to be an indis-pensable requisite. The reasoning on this point is worthy of notiee. 'Sinee the law,' they say, 'has prohibited the 'Slave Trade, there ought to be in all the ports of the dif-'ferent eolonies, and particularly at Senegal and Marti-'nique, persons eharged to wateh over the execution of the 'law. If then those funetionaries have been remiss in the 'performanee of their duties, so much the worse for the 'revenue, and so much the better for eontrabandists. It is 'for the Custom-house officers to seize their prey, and to es-'tablish by elear proof the offence that has been committed; 'otherwise the offenders will profit by the neglect. This 'would, indeed, be an infraction of the law on their part; 'but one, of which the only evil would be, that the prohi-'bited traffie in which they have had the boldness to engage, 'will prove a benefit to the French Colonies, which the 'French Government is bound to favour as far as its foreign 'policy will permit. Otherwise can we suppose, that there 'would not be at St. Louis and at Martinique persons set to 'watch over sueh proceedings, who would not be guilty of 'similar negligence? This is not to be supposed; and, 'therefore, forms a presumption in favour of the appellants.'

The above extracts advert to a very important feature in the present cäse; namely, the legal existence of the Slave Trade at Senegal and Goree: and this is a point which ad-mits of no question. It is stated, even in the Report of M. Courvoisier—a Report sanctioned by the Minister of the Marine himself—that the inhabitants of these colonies may, without violating any law, purchase from the interior any number of Slaves they may think proper, hold them in a state of slavery in the colony, and shut them up in slave-holds, loaded with chains. The words are, 'On les vend, 'on les aehété, sans violer la loi. Les Négréries de St.

useless, as the ships of war sent out have confined themselves hitherto to the immediate vicinity of Senegal and Goree.

'Louis n'ont pu être detruites*.' And now it appears they may be carried to such obscure places as Babaguey, Gandiole, &c. whence they may be shipped without incurring observation. Under these circumstances, how is it possible to prevent the exportation of Slaves to foreign parts? To speak of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in such a state of things is absolute mockery. The purchase and sale of human beings must be prohibited entirely on the Coast of Africa, not merely in words, as might be inferred from the law of April 1818, but in effect, before France can be considered as having redeemed her pledge of abolishing the Slave Trade. Nor can any adequate motive be alleged for refusing to pass such a law. No inconvenience could result from it, to the present inhabitants of Senegal and Goree, any more than to those of the English settlements of St. Mary's and Sierra Leone. In the former, as in the latter, domestic servants and labourers are to be hired on very easy terms, besides that there can now be no want of domestics at Senegal and Goree, at neither of which places is any cultivation carried on. Utterly groundless, therefore, is every pretence, which might be built on the convenience of the colonists; and, were it not for the facilities which this permission affords to slave-trading, it would not be of the slightest value to them whatever. While, however, it is continued, not only is the Abolition of the French Slave Trade impossible, but France must relinquish all hope of improvement in her settlements on the African Coast; and all commerce, excepting that which flows from this polluted source, and which, wherever it exists, blights and blasts every other; and must expect to see those fine and commanding establishments reduced to mere Slave-factories, inhabited by wretches dead to every sentiment of honour and humanity, and spreading misery and desolation and death throughout regions, where they might have diffused the blessings of peace, industry, civilization, and social happiness.

When the new law, promised by the Minister of the Marine is framed, it is to be hoped that it will embrace this most important part of the case. It is to be hoped, that it will also substitute a disgraceful punishment, such as that of the galleys, for the present inadequate sanctions which are employed to repress the Slave Trade. The

* There existed no Slave-holds at Senegal when the French took possession of it in 1817: they have all been built since. How disingenuous then is the above passage!

practice must be regarded in its true light, not as a fiscal offence, but as a crime—a crime, too, of the deepest dye, and punishable as such, before any effectual restraint can be imposed on the remorseless cupidity of these wholesale dealers in blood.

In the Report of M. Courvoisier it is made a convenient and evidently a most influencial topic of insinuation against the veracity and the motives of M. Morenas, that some of his statements should have coincided with statements which had previously appeared in English newspapers; and that for others he had referred to English authorities. But was not this coincidence a strong confirmation of the correctness of the facts adduced by the petitioner? And does M. Courvoisier suppose that after the great powers of Europe have entered into a friendly, and what we may presume to be, on the part of all, a sincere, engagement to use their utmost efforts to extinguish totally and universally this cruel and ignominious traffic, there will be no concert, no understanding whatever, between such of their subjects as sympathize with their sovereigns in the desire to vindicate the outraged rights of humanity? If he supposes this, it only proves how little he feels, or can appreciate, the motives and principles which influence those who have fought for so many years the battle of injured Africa.

But this is by no means the only instance of unfairness which appears in the Report of M. Courvoisier: we have already pointed to others. There remains one, however, of so flagrant a kind as to establish beyond contradiction the bad faith with which the Report has been framed. The instance alluded to is that in which the reporter charges M. Giudicelly with having falsified all his past professions to the Minister of the Marine, by applying to him to be re-appointed at Senegal to the office either of Priest or Historiographer. This attempt to inculpate M. Giudicelly certainly places M. Courvoisier, if not the Minister of the Marine also, in a very awkward dilemma. M. Courvoisier professes to found his Report on the documents furnished from the office of that minister. In this case, he either could not have seen the documents from which he pretends to quote, or he must himself have misrepresented their object. If, as is most probable, he did not see them, but was content to receive, from the ministry of the Marine, a statement of their tenor, then he must have been deceived himself; and he owes it to his own character to point out the author of the deception. With whomsoever it originated, it proves incontestably the hostile mind which has been at work in framing the Report, and

leads inevitably to the suspicion that it was drawn up not so much with a view to develop the truth, as to shield the conduct of the Colonial Department, and of the functionaries whom it has favoured and patronized; and to crush the vexatious attempt which has been made, by certain unfriended individuals, to expose atrocities calculated to reflect dishonour on both the one and the other.

This suspicion derives additional force from the manner in which it is reported that M. Morenas and M. Giudicelly have themselves been treated by the ministry of the Marine. The former is said to have been deprived of his situation, and treated with marked indignity; and the latter, not to have been able to recover the arrears of salary and allowances due to him for his services at Senegal. They are, besides, publicly denounced in M. Courvoisier's Report as impostors, and threatened with prosecutions supported by the whole weight and influence of the Government. Surely if the Minister of the Marine had been really solicitous to have discovered the infractions of the Abolition Laws, he would have acted differently. Suppose that, instead of denouncing the crimes of the traders in blood at Senegal and Goree, M. Morenas had communicated to the Minister of the Interior the particulars of a conspiracy against the Government; how very different would have been the course pursued! If the Minister were assured that the information was given him from an earnest wish to maintain the tranquillity of the country, would he have captiously scrutinized and exposed every possible incorrectness in the statements of his informant? Would he have thrown the task of proof upon him? Would he not rather have employed the whole inquisitorial power of the state to obtain evidence against the individuals whose guilt was at least made probable, by the minute and circumstantial details of facts which an intelligent and respectable individual had declared himself to have witnessed? Now what has been done with a view to such an inquisition? Has one of the merchants of Bordeaux, or Nantz, or Havre, or Honfleur, or Paris, or one of the clerks of those merchants, who have been specified as concerned in these Slave-trading transactions, been subjected to interrogatories? Have the captains, or mates, or mariners of any of the vessels been brought up for examination? In short, what step has been taken in this case, which would have been taken in any one case of murder or robbery, to say nothing of conspiracy against the state, with the view of searching out and following up every trace of guilt? Can it be forgotten what efforts were made to ascertain the murderers of M. Fualdez;—how many indivi-

duals were imprisoned on bare suspicion;—what lengthened and laborious examinations, public and private, were had in order to discover the guilty individuals? But here, murders have been committed by wholesale. Hundredsand thousands of innocent individuals have been robbed of what is more valuable than property, or even life—their liberty—and have been subjected to the most cruel and ignominious bondage for ever. Crimes have been perpetrated which cause humanity to shudder; and the ministry of the Marine is found not merely not lending itself heartily to their detection and punishment, but frowning on those who have the boldness to stand forward to denounce such crimes, and covering with the broad shield of its patronage and panegyric the persons accused of being implicated in them. The case is altogether monstrous.

And who, after all, is this Colonel Schmaltz, so distinguished by the eulogy of the Minister of the Marine, of M. Courvoisier, and of M. Mackau? Is he not the same individual who is found depicted by Messieurs Correard and Savigny, in their uncontradicted work, entitled, 'Naufrage de la Frégate Méduse,' as having acted so mercilessly and unfeelingly towards his own countrymen, in the circumstances of unparalleled distress in which that unhappy shipwreck plunged them? And of him can it be seriously believed that he would feel for Jaloffs or Bambarans the commiseration which his own countrymen in vain endeavoured to excite in his bosom: or that his principles would have led him to make any extraordinary efforts to save them from the slave chain?

It is a further proof of the feeling of the ministry of the Marine on this subject, that not only has it been found impossible to obtain any notice of the contents of M. Giudicelly's pamphlet in the French journals, but that even the attempt to procure the insertion of an advertisement announcing its publication has been frustrated by the censors of the press. The pamphlet has indeed been widely circulated, and has produced a strong impression on the public mind: but this has been in defiance of the means employed to prevent its being known.

But the question recurs, What is now the state of the French Slave Trade? The Minister of the Marine affirms, that it has been suppressed. The statements, however, of M. Morenas and M. Giudicelly, amply confirmed as they have been by numerous independent authorities, prove that, so recently as the month of October 1819, this trade was still extensively carried on by the inhabitants of Senegal

and Goree. But the evil was by no means confined to these places: on the contrary, it had extended itself without reserve or disguise, and with almost uninterrupted impunity, along the whole coast of Africa; as the details now about to be given will incontestably shew.

The following is the extract of a letter from a gentleman of respectability, dated at Guadaloupe, on the 24th of February, 1820, and addressed to the Secretary of the African Institution.

'With regard to the illegal importation of Slaves in this 'dependeney, I have endeavoured to get as correct an ac- 'count as it was possible to proeure. The following will shew. '—At Port Louis, seven cargoes have been landed; viz. one 'cargo of one hundred and nineteen Slaves at Bay la Haute; '—two cargoes for M. Segond, merehant at Point-à-Pitre, 'landed at a bay called Ramboillette, and stored on the 'premises of my informant;—one cargo for M. Marin of 'the same town, merchant; the same person as above ef- 'fected their landing;—one cargo for M. Deville, merchant, 'Point-à-Pitre;—and two cargoes for M. Lamey, merehant, 'of the same place. At St. Ann's, one cargo for M. De- 'ville, mentioned above. At Petit Canal, one cargo for 'M. Marin, mentioned above;—and one for M. Rance, a 'merchant of Point-à-Pitre. At the Moule, three cargoes, 'owner's name unknown. At St. François, one cargo; and 'at L'Anse Bertrand, three cargoes.

'The person who receives and lands them at L'Anse Ber- 'trand, is the same who receives and lands them here. He 'told me that he had landed three cargoes there: one of the 'names he mentioned, but I did not learn the others. This 'was the brig Fox, with four hundred Africans, for M. Se- 'gond, being the third vessel mentioned as belonging to him. 'All persons agree that he had five vessels from Africa, the 'number whieh I mentioned in my last letter having heard 'of; but I need go no farther than from my own knowledge, 'having seen these five slave-vessels at Point-à-Pitre fitting 'out by M. Segond; and indeed one of them sailed again 'for the eoast the 19th instant, whilst I was there: she was 'the sehooner Eugenie.

'You will observe, that I have only found out the landing 'places of three cargoes belonging to M. Segond, and have 'not been fortunate enough to hear at what other part of 'the island he has landed the remainder. I have procured 'the names of four of his vessels;—viz. schooner Eugenie, for- 'merly an American privateer; brig Fox; schooners La 'Falente and Thétis. They are all getting ready for sea

'again to perform another voyage, except L'Eugenie, which, 'as I said before, has already sailed. There is now lying at 'Point-à-Pitre a large schooner, named Louise, formerly the 'American privateer Flying Fish. This schooner was fitted 'out by M. Ferat and M. Gabriel. The former is owner of 'several gabares, and the latter a merchant resident at 'Point-à-Pitre. She had sailed on her voyage to the coast; 'but having sprung a leak fifteen days after, she returned, 'and a survey was made, when she was condemned as un-'worthy to perform the voyage. This expedition cost them '9000 dollars, including cost of vessel. M. Ferat declared 'to me, that he has lost about 4000 dollars. However, they 'are not discouraged. They have continued the speculation 'on the brig Fox, which they have chartered from M. Se-'gond. I have been an eye-witness myself to this affair, 'and have been not only with M. Ferat, but also at the 'store of M. Gabriel, where I saw a great number of iron 'shackles, and the other articles necessary for the Slave 'Trade and for Slave Ships, landed from the schooner 'Louise. I was at the store of M. Segond, who possessed 'an African Prince, brought to Guadaloupe as hostage; and 'it strikes me forcibly that he is embarked on board L'Eu-'genie for Africa, because since her departure no one has 'seen him. There seems to have been no other distinguish-'ing mark on this Prince different from the others, except 'that his hair at the front part of his head was in a bunch, 'whilst the other parts were, by cutting close, left bare; 'and that he had on clothes, which were no doubt given to 'him by M. Segond or his captain. I was also at the store 'of M. Rance, where was exhibited a leopard, brought by 'his slave-vessel from Africa. I mention these two last 'circumstances merely to go in corroboration of what is 'herein before related. I ventured to say to M. ——, that 'I supposed the collector of Point-à-Pitre knew nothing of 'the arrivals of vessels from Africa, or otherwise he would 'get the commandant to send an armed force to stop them 'at the out-bays; when he laughed, and said, that he is too 'well paid for it; that the time when M. Deville had an 'arrival at St. Ann's, the collector came to the store, and 'made some noise, and went after the vessel, but she was 'not there. He afterwards reported to the governor what 'he had done, and thus ended all his noise, for which he 'was paid by M. Deville 50 joes for himself, and 200 dollars 'to be distributed among the other officers of the Customs. 'A similar stir is made on every arrival; and the merchant, 'who is owner of the Slaves, turns informer himself. He

'knows that he runs no risk in informing the collector, but 'goes to him with the news, and at the same time carries a 'douceur of 50 joes and 200 dollars, to be distributed as 'before mentioned. Thus you find, that with this expense 'any one may, with all security possible, land a cargo of 'Slaves in this island.

'There was an arrival of a Spanish brig at Point-à-Pitre 'some time ago, which had on board eight hundred and 'eighty Slaves when she left Africa. She was consigned to 'M. Goyen. I am informed that this vessel experienced a 'severe squall a little while before she arrived at Point-à-'Pitre; and on the captain opening the hatches (which 'were down during the squall), he found fifty of the poor 'Africans dead. This vessel, it appears, could not land her 'cargo at Point-à-Pitre. It would have been rather public, 'and no doubt she landed them at one of the out-bays. If 'there was not an arrangement made with the collector, 'why did he not seize her on entering the port?

'M. —— at this Bourg expects a ship shortly from the 'coast, whose cargo is to be landed by him. The two 'cargoes of Slaves landed here for M. Segond, were sent 'from hence to Surinam, from whence I am informed they 'were introduced into Demarara, and sold on the planta-'tions. There were five voyages made in small vessels from 'this to Surinam; and it is said, the Negroes were prin-'cipally sold at Demarara. This I am told by M. —— 'here, who is the person mentioned as the one who receives 'and lands the Slaves, and who is the recognised agent of 'M. Segond. The price obtained there for each Slave is '4000 livres, or 200*l.* currency. And indeed it is not only 'boasted of at this place and at Point-à-Pitre, but I have also 'accounts from Martinique, which state, that a small vessel 'has made several voyages from thence to Demarara with 'Slaves. This is also confirmed by the captain of a small 'vessel belonging to ——, who was there the other day, 'and saw the captain who had been thus trading to Dema-'rara, and conversed with him. He says, that the vessel 'and Slaves are cleared out for Surinam, but are landed on 'some unfrequented part of the coast of Demarara, and sold 'on the plantations as aforesaid. I cannot be much asto-'nished at the success of this criminal traffic in this island, 'when it is so openly encouraged by the authorities which 'ought to suppress it.

'The Abolition of the Slave Trade by France is a mere 'farce. It will always remain so, until some internal regu-'lation is made in this island, to be placed in opposition to

'the too facile means now used by those who introduce the 'poor Africans into Guadaloupe, to undergo Colonial Sla- 'very. A regulation that would effectually prevent persons 'from purchasing would be very desirable: until that is 'done, and also until the public offices are purged of men 'with bad consciences, I shall have yet to witness thousands 'of these poor creatures dragged hither from their homes, 'to experience hopeless bondage.

'How can the collector plead ignorance after all that I 'have related? Nay, how can the governor himself be igno- 'rant, when at almost every house one may discover among 'the servants a newly imported African, and when they 'could be so easily found out on the plantations, on many 'of which some are to be found? This I advance from my 'own evidence. I have travelled by land from this to 'L'Anse Bertrand, and from Morne à L'èau to Point-à- 'Pitre, and I have been also at Petit Canal, and have seen 'new Negroes in each property where I visited. Nay, in 'every grande pirogue, in pirogues de poste (which latter 'are passage-boats employed to carry passengers from the 'different small towns to Point-à-Pitre), and in gabares, 'newly imported Africans are to be found. I know that at 'this place the owner of two grande pirogues alone has 'twelve new Negroes.

'I have been endeavouring to get at the supposed number 'of Africans imported into the island since it was given up 'to the French the last time. Some accounts state 20,000, 'and others 15,000. It will be observed that the account 'I have given of particular importations is only confined to 'recent ones.'

It cannot escape observation how strongly such a letter as this tends to corroborate the statements of M. Morenas and M. Giudicelly. On different sides of the Atlantic, persons wholly unknown to each other, and without the possibility of concert, state facts as within their own knowledge and observation, which are found remarkably to coincide. Observe, for example, the name of Lamey, who is stated, in the letter from Guadaloupe, as one of the persons employed as slave-factors. In the petition of M. Morenas, we find the name of this person attached to an account-sales of Slaves exported from Senegal.

The accuracy of the statements in the letter from Guadaloupe is further illustrated by the case of a French Slave-ship, called the Sylph, detained by his Majesty's sloop Redwing, Captain Hunn, and brought into Sierra Leone on the 10th February, 1819, with three hundred and sixty-four

Slaves on board. From the papers of this vessel it appeared, that when Captain Hunn fell in with the Sylph, in latitude 7° 50′ north, aud longitude 16° 30′ west, she had been fifty-one days at sea from Bonny, where she had taken in three hundred and eighty-eight Slaves; twenty died before her detention, and four afterwards. It further appeared that she was bound to Guadaloupe, where the traffic in Slaves was stated to be carried on, with scarcely any reserve. Vessels having such cargoes land them at a small Negro village with a sandy beach, called St. Thomas, situated to leeward of the capital of the island, and notice having been sent to the Armateur, he proceeds over-land to take charge of the Slaves, and to have them housed in stores as goods. This being done, the vessels proceed to Point-a-Pitre, where they report themselves as coming from the coast of Africa, and there land the small quantity of ivory, and other African produce, they may have been able to collect—loudly complaining of their want of success. It further appeared, that Messieurs Segond et Fils were owners of the Sylph, on her last voyage; and that shortly before her sailing from Guadaloupe, a very large vessel from Nantz had taken a full cargo to the same island: she was commanded by Monsieur Guiner, who had formerly been Capitaine de Frégate.

The case of a ship, called Le Rodeur, is perhaps still more in point; and while it proves the little risk which is run by French subjects, in carrying on the Slave Trade, it furnishes also a most striking exemplification of some of the worst horrors which attend the Middle Passage. What makes this case particularly important, is that it has been brought to light incidentally, in a work devoted to medical subjects, and into which it found its way merely because some of the details, which were requisite to the elucidation of a particular malady, served to disclose the criminal nature of the voyage in which the vessel was engaged.

The work in question, which is a periodical work, was published in Paris early in the present year, and is entitled, ‘ Bibliotheque Ophtalmologique, ou Recueil d'Observations ‘ sur les Maladies des Yeux, faites a la Clinique de l'Institu- ‘ tion Royale des Jeunes Aveugles, par M. Guillié, Direc- ‘ teur-Géneral et Médecin en chef de l'Institution Royale ‘ des Jeunes Aveugles de Paris, &c.’ ‘ Avec des Notes, par ‘ M. M. Dupuytren, Pariset, &c.’ The particular article, in which the case of Le Rodeur is introduced, has for its title, ‘ Observation sur une Blépharoblénorrhée conta- ‘ gieuse.’ The case itself is thus stated, omitting merely

such of the medical details as are not necessary to the present purpose.

'The ship the Rodeur, Captain B——, of two hundred 'tons burden, left Havre, the 24th of January, 1819, for the 'coast of Africa, and reached its destination the 14th of 'March following, anchoring at Bonny, in the river Calabar. 'The crew, consisting of twenty-two men, enjoyed good 'health during the outward voyage, and during their stay at 'Bonny, where they remained till the 6th of April. They 'had observed no trace of ophthalmia among the natives; 'and it was not until fifteen days after they had set sail on 'the return voyage, and the vessel was near the Equator, 'that they perceived the first symptoms of this frightful 'malady. It was then remarked, that the Negroes, who, to 'the number of one hundred and sixty, were crowded together (*éntassés*) in the hold, and between the decks, had 'contracted a considerable redness of the eyes, which 'spread with singular rapidity. No great attention was at 'first paid to these symptoms, which were thought to be 'caused only by the want of air in the hold, and by the 'scarcity of water which had already begun to be felt. At 'this time they were limited to eight ounces of water a day, 'which quantity was afterwards reduced to the half of a 'wine glass.' 'By the advice of M. Maignan, the surgeon of the ship, the Negroes, who had hitherto remained 'shut up in the hold, were brought upon deck in succession, 'in order that they might breathe a purer air. But it became necessary to abandon this expedient, salutary as it 'was, because that many of those Negroes, affected with '*Nostalgia*' (meaning the passionate desire to revisit their native land), 'threw themselves into the sea, locked in each 'other's arms *.'

'The disease which had spread itself so rapidly and 'frightfully among the Africans, soon began to infect 'all on board, and to create alarms for the crew. The 'danger of infection, and perhaps the cause which produced the disease, were increased by a violent dysentery,

* A circumstance is here omitted in the printed work, probably as not being necessary to the elucidation of the medical case, which nevertheless is substantiated by the most authentic testimony, and is important as throwing light on the nature of the Slave Trade. The captain caused several of the Negroes, who were prevented in the attempt to throw themselves overboard, to be shot and hung, in the hope that so terrible a spectacle might deter the others from a similar conduct. But even this severity proved unavailing, and the Slaves were again confined entirely to the hold.

'attributed to the use of rain-water. The first man of the 'crew who caught the infection was a sailor who slept under 'the deck, near the grated hatch which communicated with 'the hold. The next day a landsman was seized with 'ophthalmia; and, in three days more, the captain and al- 'most the whole of the crew were infected with it.'

The means of cure which the surgeon employed are then detailed. They proved inefficient. 'The sufferings of the 'people, and the number of the blind augmented every 'day; so that the crew, previously alarmed by the apprehen- 'sion of a revolt among the Negroes*, were seized with the 'farther dread of not being able to make the West Indies, 'if the only sailor who had hitherto escaped the contagion, 'and on whom their whole hope rested, should become 'blind like the rest. This calamity had actually befallen 'the *Leon*, a Spanish vessel which the Rodeur met with on 'her passage, and the whole of whose crew, having become 'blind, were under the necessity of altogether abandoning 'the direction of their ship. They entreated the charitable 'interference of the Rodeur: but the seamen of this vessel 'could not either quit her to go on board the Leon, on ac- 'count of the cargo of Negroes; nor receive the crew of the 'Leon on board the Rodeur, in which there was scarcely 'room for themselves. The difficulty of taking care of so 'large a number of sick, in so confined a space, and the total 'want of fresh meat and of medicines, made them envy the 'fate of those who were about to become the victims of a 'death which seemed to them inevitable, and the conster- 'nation was general†.'

'The Rodeur reached Guadaloupe on the 21st of June, '1819, her crew being in a most deplorable condition. 'Three days after her arrival, the only man who, during 'the voyage, had withstood the influence of the contagion, 'and whom Providence appeared to have preserved as a 'guide to his unfortunate companions, was seized with the 'same malady.' 'Of the Negroes, thirty-nine had become 'perfectly blind, twelve had lost an eye, and fourteen were 'affected with blemishes more or less considerable. Of the 'crew, twelve lost their sight entirely, among whom was the 'surgeon; five became blind of one eye, one of them being the

* 'The apprehended revolt did not occur, because the Negroes 'who had belonged to rival and hostile tribes, far from thinking to 'profit by their situation and their number to assert their liberty, 'continued to indulge their mutual hatred, even in chains, and 'were ready in their rage to tear each other in pieces.'

† The Leon has not been heard of since, and doubtless was lost.

'captain, and four were partially injured.' Of the captain, it is added, that 'he did not cease in the midst of the 'greatest danger, to lavish his attentions on the Negroes 'and the sailors, with a zeal and devotedness which exceed 'all praise.'

Such is the account of the voyage of the Rodeur, as given by M. Guillié. But in this account, one of the most horrid circumstances connected with the transaction is wholly omitted, probably because it illustrated no medical principle; namely, the fact, that the thirty-nine Slaves, who are stated to have become blind, were thrown into the sea and drowned. The policy of this measure is very obvious. Had they been landed at Guadaloupe, no one would have bought them: even those blind of one eye sold for a mere trifle. The proprietors would therefore have incurred the expense of feeding them without the chance of a return. By throwing them overboard, not only was this certain loss avoided, but ground laid for a claim on the underwriters, by whom the cargo had been insured. The owners could allege, for instance, that on the great want of water, which existed on board, it had become necessary to throw a part of the cargo into the sea to save the rest. But whatever was the special plea alleged by the owners, it is said that their claim was allowed, and that the value of the thirty-nine Slaves was paid to them by the underwriters.

Another most important fact, also omitted in the printed account, is this, that the Rodeur, having returned to Havre, has been refitted by the same owners, and dispatched early in the present year on a second Slave-voyage; and, as a reward for the conduct which is so much extolled in the Bibliotheque Ophtalmologique, the command of her has been given to the same captain who had charge of her on the first voyage.

The case of the Rodeur doubtless exemplifies many of the horrors of the Middle Passage; but it is still more important, as furnishing a striking proof of the impunity with which the most open and notorious contraventions of the Abolition Laws may be committed in France. The facts of the case must have been well known to the authorities in Guadaloupe, where it attracted much observation, and where the Slaves that had not been thrown overboard were sold to the planters. The case has also been well known for many months to the Minister of the Marine *. And

* In the Petition of M. Morenas to the Chamber of Deputies, in June 1820, of which so much has been already said, there is the

yet not a single step appears to have been taken, either at Guadaloupe or in France, to bring the authors of this flagrant contravention of the laws to punishment. Neither the vessel nor the cargo has been confiscated, nor has any suit been instituted for that purpose. The captain, the immediate actor in this murderous transaction, so far from being stript of his employment and rendered incapable of ever holding a command, is loaded with eulogy, and invested afresh with the command of the same ship, in order to renew his piratical and bloody enterprize. The owners and equippers of the vessel at Havre have been called to no account, but are allowed to enjoy, without question, the fruit of their crimes, and to devise and perpetrate fresh atrocities against the natives of Africa. Will France tolerate these outrages?

Nor can it be alleged, in this case, that there was any want of proof. The surgeon, M. Maignan, was lately, and, it is believed, is now, at Paris. Many, if not all, of his eleven blind companions have returned to France, and must

following passage:—'In support of these facts, which sufficiently 'prove the existence of the Slave Trade, may be mentioned the 'capture, by the English, of five French Slave-ships, as recorded in 'the Sierra Leone Gazette, of 17th of July, 1819, and the calamity 'which befel the ship Rodeur, which sailed from Havre, the 24th 'of January 1819, and landed a cargo of one hundred and sixty 'Slaves at Guadaloupe, the 21st of June in the same year; and all 'whose Slaves and crew, with a single exception, were attacked 'by a contagious ophthalmia, which is described in the Biblio-'theque Ophtalmologique of Dr. Guillié, printed at the Royal Es-'tablishment of the Young Blind at Paris. The Doctors Dupuy-'tren and Pariset, who viewed this deplorable transaction only in 'a medical light, do not state that they threw into the sea thirty-'six wretched Negroes, who had been blinded by the disease.' M. Morenas further refers for the particulars of the five French Slave-ships, stated to have been captured, to the journal called L'Impartial, of the 23d of February 1820. They are as follows: 1. A schooner, Captain Breton, with three hundred and forty Slaves; 2. A schooner, Captain Martean, with three hundred Slaves; 3. A schooner, Captain Meinard, three hundred and forty Slaves; 4. The Cintra, Captain Dupuis of Bourdeaux; 5. The Sylph of Guadaloupe, with three hundred and sixty-three Slaves, taken by the Redwing near the Cape de Verd Islands. The Royal Gazette of Sierra Leone, of the 12th of June 1819, adds, that this last Slave-ship had exported two cargoes from Senegal, under the protection of Colonel Schmaltz, returned from Paris, with the most ample powers, which it is supposed he will employ to ensure the prosperity of the Slave Trade. It is affirmed, with what truth we know not, that the work of M. Guillié was bought up to prevent its circulation: certain it is, that not a copy of it is now to be obtained.

be accessible. There are also nine other persons belonging to the crew, who might have been discovered by means of the *rôle d'equipage*. And surely, if ever there was a case which, independently of these facilities of proof, called for the interference of the French Government, it is the case of the Rodeur. But, in fact, in none of the cases of Slave-trading which have occurred, and respecting which information has been communicated, from time to time, to the French Government, does it appear that any process has been instituted in *France* against the owners, equippers, or commanders of the Slave-ships; who, it is believed, enjoy to this day absolute impunity.

But these transactions, it may be said, are of an old date. They belong to the year 1819, and we have now reached the close of 1820. The assurances of the Minister of the Marine, though not strictly accurate as they respected the past year, may only have a little anticipated, in point of time, the effect of those vigorous measures which he states himself to have taken to suppress this traffic universally; and we may therefore presume, that the history of the French Slave Trade, in 1820, will happily illustrate his zeal and vigilance. Alas! alas! how grievously should we be mistaken in venturing to entertain so favourable a presumption. The present year exhibits to us the French Slave Trade swelled to a more enormous extent than at any preceding period. During the first six or seven months of it, the coast of Africa actually swarmed with French Slave-ships. A distinguished officer of the British Navy, who was himself an eye-witness of the fact, writing on the subject with deliberation, and after being called to a careful recollection of what he had seen, uses this remarkable expression: 'The number of French Slave-ships now on the coast is 'something incredible.' He had, either by himself or by the officers under him, examined between twenty and thirty vessels trading for Slaves on the coast, which were ascertained to be French; and he afterwards found in the harbour of the Havannah a still greater number bearing the French flag, who had either cargoes of Slaves on board, which they had brought thither for sale, or were fitting out for fresh Slave-voyages.

The Spanish Slave Trade having ceased universally in May, 1820, and England possessing by treaty the right of seizing and confiscating Spanish contrabandists, the flag of that nation cannot now be safely employed by Slave-ships. On this account the French flag is eagerly sought after by Spaniards; and not only by Spaniards, but by Americans

and Portuguese, to protect their crimes and piracies; for it is at present the opprobrious distinction of France, that her flag alone can now be safely resorted to for protection in such circumstances.

This general view of the state of the French Slave Trade on the coast, during the present year, is confirmed by Sir Charles MacCarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone, now in England; who further states, that at the time of his leaving that colony in July last, he had received unquestionable information, that no fewer than five vessels, bearing the French flag, were then engaged in procuring Slaves at the Gallinas, a place situated about one hundred miles to the south of Sierra Leone.

If these statements are at all correct, and the authority on which they rest seems to admit no doubt of their correctness, then it will follow that during the first six or seven months of the present year, from fifty to sixty ships bearing the French flag were actually *seen* engaged in the Slave Trade. And as it cannot be supposed, considering the vast extent of the African coast, and of the ocean which lies between it and the West Indies, that all the vessels of this description so employed could have been met by our cruizers, or could have come under the observation of Governor MacCarthy's informant, it would seem to be no more than a fair inference from the facts that have been adduced, that the French Slave Trade must have attained a degree of enormity altogether unprecedented, at the very moment when the Minister of the Marine was assuring the French Nation, and reiterating those assurances to the British Government, that that trade was at length extinct.

But it is not necessary to rest this inference on general statements, however conclusive. Particular details confirmatory of them may easily be produced. Although our ships of war have, generally speaking, no right to detain Slave-ships carrying the French flag, provided they are really French, yet sometimes there may exist peculiar circumstances to justify a departure from the strictness of this rule. Two such cases occurred recently on the coast of Africa, in which the naval commander on that station conceived that he was acting in strict conformity with his duty, in taking possession of the vessels, and sending them for adjudication to the Governor of Senegal, having previously landed their Slaves at Sierra Leone. He had suffered many French Slave-ships to pass unmolested; but these two appeared to him to have committed acts which justified their detention. Their names were La Marie and La Ca-

tharine. The crew of La Marie, which had come from Martinique, consisted of the following persons: Captain, Guillot; lieutenant, Lepelletrier; master, Charles; sailors, Jean, Charlot, Lasse, Carouson, Balet, Lateron, Aubry, Philippe, Thomas, Julien, B. Guillot. The crew of La Catharine were as follows: Captain, J. B. Martin; lieutenant, Sanchez; second lieutenant, Barbouteau; surgeon, Simonété; master, Héries; second master, Beraze; sailors, Borane, Cotins, Grane, Chardinal, Joseph, Pierre, Boulane, &c. &c.

The captain of La Catharine threatened the naval officer who detained him with a formal complaint to his Government, and affirmed that the object of his voyage was known at the bureau of the Marine, where he had been even assured, that no British man of war would dare to violate the flag of France, and that no French man of war would be found upon the coast of Africa, south of Goree.

At the same time that this British officer detained La Catharine, he dismissed another French vessel, called Le Joseph, which was actively engaged in the Slave Trade, and had then twelve Slaves on board.

A fourth case merits a more detailed exposition. On the 4th of March 1820, after a long chase, a vessel was boarded by the boats of his Majesty's ship Tartar, commanded by Sir George Collier, Bart. which proved to be La Jeune Estelle of Martinique, Olympe Sanguines master. On being boarded, Sanguines declared that he had been *plundered* of his Slaves, and that none remained on board. The agitation and alarm which marked each countenance on board his vessel excited suspicion, and led to an examination of her hold. During this examination, a sailor who struck a cask, which was tightly closed up, heard a faint voice issue from it, as of a creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two Slave-girls of about twelve or fourteen years of age, in the last stage of suffocation, were found packed in it; and by this fortunate interposition were rescued from a miserable death.

These girls, when brought on the deck of the Tartar, were recognized by a person on board, who had been taken prisoner in another Slave-ship, as having been the property of Captain Richards, of the schooner Swift of New York. And an investigation having taken place, it appeared, that this American contrabandist, Captain Richards, had died at a place on the coast called Tradetown, leaving behind him fourteen Slaves, of whom these two girls formed a part; that after his death, Sanguines had landed his crew, armed

with swords and pistols, and carried off these fourteen Slaves on board the Jeune Estelle. Sir George Collier conceiving that the other twelve Slaves, who had been procured by this piratical act might still be secreted in that vessel, ordered a fresh search. The result was, that another Negro, a man, not however one of the twelve, was rescued from death. A platform of loose boards had been raised on the water-casks of the vessel, so as to form an *entre-pont* (a between-decks) of twenty-three inches in height. This was the space allotted for the accommodation of the unfortunate cargo of human beings, the victims of his avarice, whom M. Sanguines intended to procure and carry from the coast. Beneath this platform, one of the boards resting on his body, jammed between the crevice of two water-casks, was found the above wretched individual, whom it was a matter of astonishment to find alive under such circumstances. Sir George Collier was inclined to remove him on board the Tartar, as he had done the two girls, but M. Sanguines having proved that the poor African had been fairly bought for eight dollars' worth of brandy and iron, Sir George did not feel himself authorized to do so. Had the vessel been capable of beating up to Senegal, he would have sent her thither for adjudication to M. Schmaltz: but she was not.

But what, did it appear, had become of the other twelve Slaves taken by force from Tradetown? On this point no distinct information could be obtained beyond the assertion of M. Sanguines, in which he strenuously persisted, that he had been plundered of them by a Spanish pirate. But it was now recollected with feelings of horror by the officers and crew of the Tartar, that when they first began the chace of the Jeune Estelle, they had seen several casks floating past them, in which they now suspected that these wretched beings might have been inclosed, having been thrown overboard by Sanguines to elude the detection of his piratical proceedings. It was now impossible, however, to ascertain the fact, as the chace had led them many leagues to leeward; and even after they had consumed the time which would have been necessary, by beating to windward, to reach the place where the chace had commenced, there were many chances against their again seeing the casks which they had seen before, and no chance whatever that any of the Slaves inclosed in them, if they were so inclosed, would be found still alive. Supposing the fact to have been that the twelve Slaves, of whom no satisfactory account could be obtained, had been thrown into the sea, it is

obvious that it became necessary to put them into casks; for otherwise their exposed bodies floating by would have been very likely to have met the view of some one on board the British frigate, and to have disclosed the horrid catastrophe. The casks were affirmed to have been water-casks thrown hastily overboard, to lighten the vessel.

It ought not to be omitted, that M. Sanguines has threatened Sir George Collier with a prosecution, for having dared to visit his ship, sailing under a French flag. And when upbraided by that officer with his violating the laws of his country, he replied, that if he was wrong in what he was doing, he knew of upwards of forty captains of vessels, under the French flag, who were in precisely the same predicament.

But to return to Senegal and Goree—Enough has already been said to shew, that by the inhabitants of these colonies the Slave Trade is extensively carried on, in spite of all the vaunted vigilance of Messieurs Schmaltz and Fleuriau, and in mockery of the declaration of the Minister of Marine made in June 1819, and renewed in 1820, that that trade had there been entirely suppressed *.

It may have been found necessary by the Slave-traders of Senegal and Goree to take somewhat more pains than formerly to preserve appearances; and there may not now be shipments of Slaves made as in 1817 and 1818, from the very wharfs of these colonies, without any attempt at concealment; but the same shipments are made from places lying at a little distance, and therefore remote from observation as Babaguey; or from places lying beyond French jurisdiction, as the Cape de Verd Islands, Cacheo, Bissao, or Caza-

* The Leeward Island packet has this day, the 8th of December 1820, brought letters from Antigua, dated the 16th of October 1820, stating, that on the 4th day of that month, a vessel was found by an officer of the Customs to have made, in the night time, the harbour of St. John's in that island. She proved to be a French brig, called La Louise, of about one hundred and twenty tons, having on board one hundred and twenty-eight Slaves; from SENEGAL, bound to the island of Guadaloupe, for which island Antigua was mistaken by the lieutenant, who commanded on account of the captain's illness. The Negroes were in a miserable condition when landed, but they soon recovered their looks. They were generally young, chiefly females, two of whom had infants at the breast; and one, after being brought on shore, was delivered of twins, still-born. They have been taken great care of, and clothed as well as fed. The ship appears to have been consigned to the celebrated Slave-factors of Guadaloupe, M. Delile and M. Rancée.

This case furnishes a fresh refutation of what has been said of the extinction of the Slave Trade at Senegal.

manza. And while the purchase of Slaves from the interior, and their sale, are freely permitted at Senegal and Goree, such must be the case. To talk of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, under such circumstances, is altogether absurd.

In further proof of this statement it may be added, that when Governor MacCarthy, in his way to Europe from Sierra Leone, visited Bathurst in the river Gambia, in the month of August last, he learnt, on the best authority, that the Slave Trade was at that time carrying on with great activity by the merchants of Senegal and Goree. In particular, a M. Bodin, who had resided for several years at Goree, when that island was in the possession of Great Britain, and who, it is believed, still continues to reside there, had recently returned from the French West Indies, after having disposed there of a cargo of Slaves which he had taken on board at Cacheo and Cazamanza, Portuguese settlements situated a short distance to the South of Goree. Another French merchant, of the name of Bastide, who had formerly been a banker in Paris, and failed in business a short time before the restoration of the Bourbons, and who has resided at Senegal since 1817, has kept a vessel regularly employed in carrying Slaves from the same places, Cacheo and Cazamanza, to the French West-India Islands. A M. Mervin also, who died lately in the Gambia, and was a resident at Goree, carried on a Slave Trade from that River to the Cape de Verd Islands to the last day of his life. Besides these persons, Governor MacCarthy mentions also a M. Valentin, of Senegal, and a M. Aubert of Goree, who were notoriously engaged in the same trade, among many others whose names he could not so distinctly specify.

At a small place called Albreda, in the river Gambia, about forty miles above its mouth, it appears by clear evidence, that a very active Slave Trade is carried on by some French merchants who have established themselves in that village. Albreda was formerly a French factory dependent on Goree. By the treaty of 1783, France appears, however, to have relinquished all right to its occupation. The terms of that treaty are as follows, viz.

'Art. IX. The King of Great Britain cedes, in full right, 'and guarantees to his most Christian Majesty the river 'Senegal and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, 'Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and his Britannic 'Majesty restores to France the island of Goree, which 'shall be delivered up in the condition it was when the 'conquest of it was made.

'Art. X. The most Christian King, on his part, guaran-

'tees to the King of Great Britain the possession of Fort 'James and of the river Gambia.'

By this treaty, therefore, which has not since undergone any modification, it would appear, that the river Gambia was as effectually and unreservedly ceded to Great Britain, as the river Senegal was to France. And as France would fairly object to our attempting to re-establish ourselves on any part of the Senegal, or even to navigate that river at all, so are we clearly entitled to maintain the same exclusive right to the occupation and navigation of the Gambia. As for Albreda, the only point in that river to which the French prefer any claim, it was a dependency not of Senegal but of Goree; and it is to be remarked, that when the restoration of Goree is stipulated, the words, 'and its depen-'dencies,' used in the case of Senegal, are excluded. It may be pleaded, indeed, that during the period which elapsed between 1783 and 1792, Albreda continued to be used as a factory by French traders; but this arose simply from the circumstance, that Great Britain, during that time, occupied no position whatever in the Gambia. Fort James had been destroyed during the war which ended in 1783; and it remained a heap of ruins until 1815, when it was rebuilt, and another establishment formed still nearer the mouth of the river, namely, that of Bathurst on the island of St. Mary's. Since that time, no French vessel has been allowed to enter or leave the river without undergoing an examination. Notwithstanding this restriction, however, a very considerable Slave Trade is carried on by the French factors at Albreda, throughout the whole length of the river Gambia. The merchandize employed in purchasing the Slaves is conveyed to Albreda from Senegal or Goree, in vessels which enter the river by the usual channel, and having been examined at Bathurst are allowed to pass to Albreda. The Slaves, however, when purchased, cannot be reconveyed in the same manner, the authorities at Bathurst not permitting *Slaves* to pass that settlement. They are carried in canoes to the south bank of the river, and thence conveyed by land to Cacheo or Casamanza, whence they are shipped to the West Indies. By these means, the whole of that noble river, which would otherwise be entirely freed from the noxious influence of this traffic, is, from one end to the other of its navigable course extending upwards of a thousand miles, made the theatre of its atrocities. And thus not only is the progress of civilization and improvement in that fine and fertile region retarded, and the Natives prevented from pursuing a course of peaceful industry, but sanguinary wars

are excited among the Natives, and the whole of the surrounding district rendered a scene of depredation, conflagration, and blood.

Such being the facts of the case, it appears to be highly expedient that the British Government should claim the strict execution of the provisions of the treaty of 1783. This measure, which, in ordinary cases, it might have been magnanimous to have forborne, is pressed upon us, under existing circumstances, by the highest moral considerations; and Great Britain seems bound to vindicate her exclusive right to the navigation of this river, by the unequivocal obligations of justice and humanity, and by the cries of our suffering fellow-creatures, who look to her for protection from the ruffian violence, or fraudful cupidity of the Slave-trader.

But let it not be forgotten that the Slave Trade of Senegal and Goree forms, after all, but a fraction of the French Slave Trade; and if it could be shewn that the vigilance of the local authorities had suppressed it at these establishments, it would not be the less true, that the French Slave Trade is at this very moment prosecuted to an enormous extent, and with extraordinary avidity, along the whole westward line of the African coast.

But if from the West Indies and the coast of Africa, we turn our eyes to France itself, we shall there find the same indications of an extensive Slave Trade, and of the impunity with which it is conducted. The case of the Rodeur alone proves much. This vessel, notwithstanding all that was known to have occurred on her first voyage, has been permitted, in the present year, to fit out a second time, under the same captain (Capt. Boucher), for the same criminal purpose of carrying Slaves from Africa to the West Indies. Other vessels have gone from the same port, as well as from St. Maloes; but the chief Slave Trade has been carried on from Bordeaux and Nantz. Not, however, to enter at unnecessary length into this part of the subject, let it suffice to take, as an exemplification of the general defect of vigilance prevailing among the public functionaries in France, relative to the Slave Trade, what has recently occurred in the petty and insignificant port of Honfleur, lying at the mouth of the Seine.

The person who is most extensively concerned in Slave-trading transactions from this port is, a M. C——n, who is connected with a commercial house at Rouen, and another at Paris, the names of which are known. In the year 1819 he fitted out a small vessel called Les deux Sœurs, of which

he appointed a M. Delosmone the captain, which went to the coast of Africa, and made a successful voyage thence with fifty-two Slaves to the West Indies. This expedition was entered into by way of experiment, and having succeeded beyond the expectations of the owners, who are said to have realised a profit of near 20,000 francs by the adventure, it encouraged them to farther speculations. They accordingly fitted out a considerably larger vessel called La Valentine, the command of which was given to the former captain of Les deux Sœurs, M. Delosmone. She sailed on the 6th of March 1820, from Honfleur to the coast of Africa, where she took on board three hundred Slaves, which were landed at Martinique in July or August last. Her return is daily expected at Honfleur. About the same time Les deux Sœurs was dispatched on a second voyage to the coast of Africa, under the command of a M. Flahout. She took on board there sixty-three Slaves which were landed in the West Indies, and she re-entered Honfleur with a cargo of West India produce on the 29th of September last. This vessel has again sailed for Senegal on a third Slave-voyage on the 25th of Nov. 1820. To these two vessels, M. C——n and his friends have recently added a third, called L'Achille, which is said to be fitting out for the same destination.

Besides this set of adventurers, there is another house in Rouen, Messieurs M———u et Fils, who have also been engaged in the Slave Trade from Honfleur. One vessel of theirs, L'Eclair, has made a successful voyage.

There did not appear to be an individual at Honfleur, who was not familiar with these transactions. It seems scarcely credible that the public functionaries alone should be ignorant of them.

Nothing has yet been said on that branch of the Slave Trade, which is carried on from Madagascar and the East Coast of Africa, for the supply of the Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius. It must be acknowledged however, that a very active Slave Trade has existed in this quarter; and that the subjects of Great Britain, who inhabit the latter island, have been perhaps as deeply involved in the guilt of it as the French subjects of the former. The exemplary punishment which has lately overtaken some of the Slave-traders of the Mauritius, it is to be hoped, may have its effect in deterring others, belonging to that colony, from similar practices. We should rejoice to know that the authorities of the Isle of Bourbon were disposed to a mutual concurrence with the authorities of the Mauritius in certain necessary measures of regulation and police, which, considering the vi-

cinity of these islands to each other, and the vicinity of both to Madagascar, seems necessary to the effectual repression of the Slave Trade in those seas. But the full consideration of this subject must at present be deferred.

It will be scarcely possible for the most prejudiced person to read and weigh the above statements, without a strong impression, that some secret influence has been exercised over the ministry of the Marine in France, which not only paralyses its energies and renders fruitless its various official movements *, but which blinds its eyes to the existence of facts the most notorious and incontrovertible. Much indeed has been said on this subject, which it may not be altogether prudent to repeat. But whatever may be the lukewarmness of some, and the selfishness of others, connected with this department, only one sentiment is entertained of the real desire of his most Christian Majesty to carry into effect the engagements he has entered into respecting the Slave Trade. It is also well known that the sentiments of the leading members of the French Cabinet, and particularly of the Duc de Richelieu and Baron Pasquier, will lead them to view with indignation and horror the disclosures now made; and to exert themselves to wipe away the foul stain, which is thus cast on the justice and humanity, not to say the honour and good faith, of their country.

It must afford also the liveliest satisfaction to the friends of the African cause, to know, that his excellency the Duc de Cazes, the ambassador of France at the British Court, cordially participates in their benevolent views; deeply feels for the miseries inflicted on Africa by the continuance of this trade; and is disposed zealously to co-operate in insuring its final extinction.

M. Portal, the Minister of the Marine, it will be recollected, pledged himself, on the 29th of June, 1820, to bring before the Legislature, in the ensuing session, a law which he was then preparing, on the subject of the Slave Trade. Rumours have since been afloat, that, alarmed by the general interest which has been excited on this question, and wishing to avoid the unpleasant discussions which will therefore be likely to arise in the Chamber of Deputies, on

* The Report of M. Courvoisier contains a detailed statement of the various exertions made by the Minister of the Marine, to ensure the faithful execution of the laws respecting the Slave Trade. In the six years beginning with 1815, and ending with 1820, he transmitted two hundred and seventy-three dispatches in France and to the Colonies, on subjects relating to the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

its introduction, he intends to pursue a different course, and to substitute a mere 'Ordonnance du Roi' for the proposed law. It is to be hoped, however, that this rumour is without foundation; and that, even if such an intention were for a moment entertained, it would be overruled by the other ministers. The present state of the French Slave Trade requires other means to repress it, than an Ordonnance du Roi can supply. It requires the most vigorous application of the whole force of law. Instead of leaving Slave-traders at liberty to say, with M. Courvoisier, that at Senegal and Goree they may buy and sell Slaves, and maintain Slave-holds, without violating any law; the law ought absolutely and unequivocally to prohibit such practices. The law should also be extended, so as specifically to comprehend all parties engaged in Slave-trading transactions; the owners, freighters, and equippers of ships intended for the Slave Trade, or knowingly engaged in it; the agents and factors on the Coast of Africa, or in the Colonies; the persons knowingly insuring such adventures; all persons knowingly supplying funds for conducting them; the captain, officers, and crew of the ships employed in it;—to all of whom the due measure of punishment, according to the degree of their guilt, should be applied; offering at the same time a free pardon to such officers or men, always excepting the captain and first-lieutenant, as should come forward voluntarily to give information of the crimes that have been committed. Nor will it be sufficient that the punishments should consist in pecuniary mulcts only. These indeed ought to fall heavily on the persons capable of paying them, in proportion to the pecuniary interest they have had in the transaction. But to repress the trade effectually, it must be placed in its proper rank, that is, in the list of crimes liable to a disgraceful punishment. Without this, every other regulation will prove, it is to be feared, feeble and ineffectual. A system of active and extended cruizing ought also to be adopted, and the officers and men of ships of war, as well as the officers of the Customs, at home and abroad, and all the chief military and civil officers on foreign stations, should be encouraged to exertion, by sharing in the produce of all confiscations procured by their means, besides obtaining a bounty on every Slave they may liberate. The Slaves thus liberated, might be established, under proper superintendance, on some eligible spot on the coast of Africa, on the plan which has been so successfully pursued at Sierra Leone; and proper lands being given them to cultivate, no doubt can be entertained that they would soon make an ample return,

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by the produce of their free labour, for all the expense which might attend their establishment.

Among the measures for suppressing the Slave Trade, no mention is here made of the most efficacious of all, when properly enforced; that is, a Registration of Colonial Slaves. The subject is too large to be now entered upon. The Duc de Richelieu, in the conferences at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, raised an expectation, which, however, has been disappointed, that ere this time that important regulation would have been adopted in all the Slave Colonies of France.

Before these Memoranda are closed, it may be proper to advert to a passage in M. Courvoisier's Report, which requires explanation. It is stated, as a proof of the vigilance of the ministry of the Marine, that fifty-two vessels—French, English, and Spanish—had been the objects of information, condemnation, or prosecution, for breaches of the Abolition Laws; nine of which had been confiscated, and twenty were still under process. It is not stated on what ground the French Government, which has resisted so strenuously all approach to any concession of a mutual right of search, with a view to the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, should have seized, prosecuted, and condemned, both English and Spanish ships for the contravention of the Abolition Laws: but this it seems very desirable to know. It would, moreover, be desirable to be furnished with all the particulars of the *English* vessels, on another account. If they have been really engaged in Slave-trading, England will not object to their seizure, prosecution, and condemnation, by the French authorities: no reclamation need be apprehended on this score. But after the *vessels* have been thus disposed of, there is a farther account which their country has to settle with the *individuals* who navigated and owned them. By the law of England they are guilty of felony; and a communication of all the facts respecting them, which have been judicially established in the French Courts, might lead to their arrest, and to their subsequent trial and conviction. It is important, therefore, that M. Courvoisier's brief intimation on this subject should not be overlooked, but that it should be fully investigated, in order that justice may perform its office on these lawless miscreants.

THE END.

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